consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and handclasps have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is resummoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant re-enters with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem trys, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and qadha officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

require detailed description, but it is possible to present 347
here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as
many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided
room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six
to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty,
although some are much smaller and a few larger than these
dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level
of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or [352]
mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases
for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread
out on the floor, hung from nails or piled against the
walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools
at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the
accommodation of more important customers and visitors.
In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and [574]
tea brought from a nearby chaykhana. Most merchants have
a weekly account with the chaykhana-owner, the latter
keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Many are [857]
assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who
runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker
basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away.
At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters,
mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils
such as "Fragile" or "Basra Import Company," and are pad-
locked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop 443
at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for 461
an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

o'clock and finally looks up for the day at six or seven. 443 461
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the fast of Ramadan many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the chaykhana-owners, the tea-shops and places of eating are closed for the day during Ramadan save one. Business, often brisk, in this "sinner's" chaykhana is kept within doors and the entrance carefully masked with a heavy burlap hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and seek the warmth of a chaykhana. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 437
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many Europeans and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Rowanduz the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the bazar it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can be done with a number of sons. 622 565 572 [582]

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered degrading for men of the "upper" class to work with their lands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the wealthier merchants and the owners of the chaykhanas and the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by Shakir Effendi and Ra'uf Effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shakir Effendi is the clerk of the judg's court and Ra'uf Effendi is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the 565 [461] [554] [693] [212]

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the ma'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorce, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rowandus, once the problems of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 233 132 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

Self-

565 respecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main
• 461 role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks
554 from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 500, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, *mam*, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 50, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

621 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group
614 tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the *tira* itself, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

622 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of
614 the *Raiz*. The position as *Raiz* is inherited, and the family of the
581 *Raiz* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the «noble» lineage segments of other tiras. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Raiz* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Raiz* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Raiz* and wealthy lineage segments among the «commoners» within the *tira* itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Raiz* within the *tira* itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To reify a distinction between «nobleman» and «commoner» within the *tira* would thus be an error, since the separa-